F
*648
185
A
[117]

3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648
*175
185

He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[20]
[173]
[216]

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
●[82]
[116]

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū [b] sect on the mainland and this would

F
[795]

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
● 821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps
[776] think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Japan AB 7

J
789

blankets to raise a wind and the sailors whistling for it.

A
821

In the year 1887 I heard there was to be a partial eclipse of the sun, which might be seen well from our place in Hokkaidō. This being so, we made preparations beforehand to get a view of it, by blackening pieces of glass for ourselves and some Ainu friends to look through. At the proper time we went outside the house and then called on the Ainu to join us in looking at the sun through the glass. The effect on them was instantaneous. They looked scared and intensely surprised. Some of them called out, "Hū-ūm, the sun dies! the sun dies!" and others exclaimed, "Oh, the sun is fainting, it is fainting away!" That was all, and they became still. Awe had laid hold of them. They told me afterwards that they were afraid the eclipse was going to be total, which would be very calamitous. I wondered why my friends did not begin to howl, as in their wakes, or at least fall to worshipping the sun at that time. But they did neither.

In conversation afterwards, I found out several things connected with this orb. I was told, for example, that the sun itself is regarded but as the vehicle of a goddess who rides in and shines through it, and that she is often worshipped. And so, as the sun is of the feminine gender, the moon is of the masculine gender. They each have a distinct and separate personality, and are husband and wife. If the light departs from either of them, it is the same as the life going out of a human body, only to leave a cold corpse behind.

This people is very consistent in sticking to the fundamental principles of their religion, and the effect is sometimes quite astonishing. When a person is dying, I have seen some of the friends fill their mouths with cool, fresh water and blow it over the sufferer's face and bosom. Some I have seen bring water in vessels and sprinkle the sick with the hands or bunches of spray wood, thereby attempting to revive them.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *saké* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

538 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the skies and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work during the day only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen to cross the heavens in company. The divine sun has the brightest and best clothing to wear; this is why he shines so clearly. His garments consist of white embroidery, and he has a larger body than his wife. The moon is like a round cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments worn one over the other. That this is so may be seen by looking at her with care. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case it is because she has gone to visit her husband. So say the ancient ones."

(In the above legend the sun is said to be of the masculine gender; yet the people often speak of this orb as being a goddess).

"When the Creator made the world, the Evil One did all he could to frustrate His designs, especially with regard to human beings. Now, after all things were made, Satan perceived that men could not possibly live without the light and warmth-giving sun. He therefore made up his mind to destroy this beautiful work of creation, and thereby injure men. So he got up very early one morning, long before the sun rose, with the intention of swallowing it. But God detected his design and made a crow to circumvent him. When the sun was rising the evil one opened his mouth to swallow it; but the crow, who was lying in wait, flew down his throat and so saved the sun. Hence the crows, remembering the benefits they once conferred upon the human race, have an idea that they may do just as they please with men and live upon the food they provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Thus we find that they have good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

773 cause for being so bold and saucy, and it is not for men to say that crows are useless creatures."

Another legend tells us that it was not only one crow which flew down Satan's throat, but many, and that it was while he was busy getting rid of the feathers from his mouth that the sun rose and it became daylight.

The moon does not enter so much into Ainu lore as the sun, yet the following story of the man in the moon is of interest.

"In ancient time there was a lad who would neither obey his father nor his mother, and who even disliked to fetch water; so, the gods being angry, they put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all people. This is the man in the moon. For this reason let all the world understand that the words of parents, whether they be good or evil, must be obeyed."

In explaining this to their children, the mothers say as follows:

"There was a lad who, though told to draw water, still sat idle and, with a big knife, remained by the hearth and chopped at the wooden frame. Presently he dawdled out and, striking the doorpost as he passed, said, 'Ah me! you are but a doorpost, yet you do not have to draw water!' Then, carrying the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river. Soon he saw a little fish coming up stream to which he said, 'Ah me! because you are a fish, you dreadfully bony creature, you do not have to draw water.' Proceeding farther along he saw a fine big salmon, to which he said, 'How do you do, Mr. Salmon!'

"But Mr. Salmon took hold of him at once and carried him off to the moon and placed him in it. Thus did the angry god to him who was disobedient and refused to draw water at once, but tardily dawdled off grumbling."

821 I have heard very little said about the stars. They are indeed called gods at times, but they are not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

generally worshipped. Comets are known by the name of "Broom-stars," and the Milky Way goes by the name of "Image of the Crooked River." It is said to be the river of the gods, and the various deities are supposed to spend much time on this river catching fish. I was told that the people did not like the appearance of comets, because they were considered as sure forerunners of some dreadful calamity such as war, disease, famine or death. The "herd-boy star" of the Japanese (Altair in Aquila) goes by a name which means "Ferryman," and a halo round the moon is said to be a "wind passage." The morning star is called "the elder sister of the world," and the Polar star is named "the seer," or one might say (from the Ainu point of view), "the guardian." The name in full is *chi-nukara-guru*, which means in some connections, "the one seen," and in others, "the one who sees" or "watches over."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

● 821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea, they were very loth to speak about previous journeys or of any sea adventure. When the women went to work in the harvest time, they would never tell stories of the sun, moon or stars, for fear these luminaries should be offended and cause it to become so dark that they might lose their way home. So superstitious were they all. 821 ●

Pine-martens were caught by snares very like those set up in England at times to take rabbits and hares. They were placed on the trunks of trees which had fallen across streams, and at the holes in which these animals lived. The spring bows which were used for killing the larger animals stood first in importance, and after them came the traps for catching foxes, racoons and otters. They were all made of wood and were very simple. 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *nitata* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *nitata* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three names. First, the most common is *Kamu Moshiri*, i.e. 'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the present material body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

828 "Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so and I now reside in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went to the underground world and there I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they, too, be punished when they join me."

●821 While walking under some very large trees one day, there came a mighty clap of thunder accompanied by a very bright flash of lightning and a sudden crash. It was all so sudden and the noise was so great that I was stupefied for the moment. I felt a puff as of a cool wind or electric current fall upon my cheek, and even saw my coat go to one side as the breath passed by. The flash left a smell like burning brimstone in the air around. When I came to myself, I looked about me and saw that a big tree close by had been struck, so that a branch was much splintered and the trunk riven through. I must surely have been unconscious for a time. Chief Penri believed that this was an attack by an evil genius of thunder and lightning. He told me that these demons lived in the clouds above and were so bad at times that they sent metal-like balls into the earth. They fell with such mighty force that they went right down to the lowest world. He also added "As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This is in part why there is so much evil in the world." The names of some of them are very long, such as these, "He who passes through the highest skies," and his wife;" He who comes down from the stars," and his wife, with others. All these things point, it will be observed, to naturism and general animism. The people used to be very much afraid of thunderstorms. When one was

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

going on, I have seen them squat round their hearths, shut their eyes, and hang their heads as low down as their knees, not a word being spoken till the near thunder ceased.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* (*muru* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainos.

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Aino religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton."

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainos as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainos have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainos." It is even doubtful whether the Ainos did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainos have but few religious symbols. The most important of these are the *inao*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast.

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tō (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone.

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui.

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent.

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu.

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S.

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

?:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'. Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido), fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement." INUKAI, 1951, p. 81. "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as the first catch of the season'". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream.

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach of the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued a weir fishing group (p. 41), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire-spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual.

The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

63 Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Sa[illegible] area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain.

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]